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PREPARING FOR A NEW WORLD

CHARLES WILLIAM DABNEY



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Review

FIGHTING FOR A NEW WORLD

BY
CHARLES WILLIAM DABNEY
President of the University of Cincinnati



THE ABINGDON PRESS
NEW YORK CINCINNATI

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FOREWORD

THIS little volume consists of addresses which were delivered before students and others at different times during the Great War. Each address deals with the question which at that particular time seemed to be uppermost in the minds of the American people. Hence it may be safe to say that each discussion not only represents my own reaction to these problems, but also reflects, at least in a general way, the main current of public opinion in the country during the past four years. Although they were originally written as separate addresses, without any deliberate plan of unity, yet it will be found that they do exhibit a certain continuity of thought, which might be characterized as the growing conviction that America had to do her part in the world struggle for democracy and to take the leadership in establishing a brotherhood of free nations.

CHARLES WILLIAM DABNEY.

I

A BETTER ERA

SINCE the world began men have been thinking and dreaming of a better era. A golden age or a millennium of righteousness has been the goal of the philosophies of all peoples. It was the dream of the Hindus, the prophecy of the Hebrews, the hope of the Greeks, the plan of the Romans, and the teaching of Christ.

Immanuel Kant, the great prophet of the Germans, expressed the most profound thought of his people in words of lasting significance. His philosophy was founded upon two eternal moral maxims: the universality of the law of right and the supreme consideration due each human personality. He taught that no necessity or particular consideration whatever can be weighed against the universal demands of the law of right. What is right for one man in one place is right for all men everywhere. His second maxim teaches that man is not a thing, but a person, and that to treat each man as a person is the first law of all human

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relationships; that each man has his individual rights. The law of right is universal and each man's right is supreme. Believing that these doctrines were applicable to nations, as well as to individuals, Kant taught that the nations of the earth should live together in a federation of mutual respect and friendly cooperation, and thus establish universal peace. Is Kant's teaching false because his people have gone to war? Never! As he spoke to the German people one hundred and fifty years ago, so he speaks to all the nations of the earth to-day.

Like the German philosopher, the English poet taught us to hope for the "Parliament of Man—The Federation of the World." Tennyson believed "the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

"We sleep and wake and sleep, but all things move;
The Sun flies forward to his brother Sun;
The dark Earth follows, wheeled in her ellipse;
And human things returning on themselves
Move onward, leading up the golden year."

Such doctrines, hopes, and dreams are inherent in the human mind and heart, and are the foundations of all our thought of human progress. We cannot uproot them and con-

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tinue to think. We cannot give them up and live.

In the course of history man has had many discouragements in his hopes for universal peace and his plans for human progress, but none, perhaps, more crushing than this catastrophe. For this war shows that we do not really recognize the universality of Kant's Law of Right, and that we are still far, far from the "Federation of the World" of Tennyson. All the philosophies which promised to bring in the golden era appear now to have failed us. If we must judge from the actions of some nations, there is still no law but the law of the jungle, and no federation except the federation of cruelty and of hate.

And what a tremendous shock it was to all our theories! Four years ago many of us could have given a score or more of reasons why a great world war never again could occur. We believed that there were too many economic and political, as well as moral and religious, influences opposed to war.

Norman Angell had taught us that the idea that war promoted the material interests of the conqueror was a "Great Illusion," and, therefore, that the bankers and the economists

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would never permit another war. But money and business did not prevent war. The militarists claimed that great armaments would prevent war. But we know now that the doctrine, "In time of peace, prepare for war," was a horrible falsehood. The supposed instruments of law and peace have proved the instruments of murder and destruction.

Many thought that science would certainly prevent war between educated nations. Biology had shown us the folly of destroying the best of the nations, the seed-corn of the future. But science too sold herself to militarism and became its willing servant in making explosives for destroying this seed-corn.

Internationalism also failed. In July the deputies of the societies in the various countries met in Brussels and passed the usual resolutions against war, but in August they were all marching under arms to the fratricidal contest.

Sad indeed was the failure of the peace societies. We did not expect much from their social meetings held in magnificent palaces, but some of us had hoped that great good would result from international peace tribunals and courts of arbitration. Although the peace

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societies were meeting in Switzerland at the time the armies were mobilizing, they had no more influence upon the nations rushing into war than the twittering sparrows have upon the railway trains dashing through the forests.

The statesmen of some of the nations labored to prevent war, but they too failed. Diplomacy, looked upon as the trusted watchman of peace, became in those last days the willing tool of the war makers.

Saddest of all, Christianity, founded by the Prince of Peace, failed to prevent war. This war was man's new fall, his saddest fall since Christ came to save him. The whole drama of this war states in terrible terms the un-Christianity of Christendom. It measures again the awful task that Christ undertook when he came to redeem mankind and called man to the establishment of a divine kingdom by love and sacrifice. Do we ask again with new urgency: "After all, is Christ's program for human society practical? Is he, indeed, the answer to the world's need? If he is, perhaps, the answer to the need of the individual human soul, can states be conducted under this Christ constitution? Is it possible to

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govern the world by love?" By dreadnought and submarine, by Zeppelin and aeroplane, by mortar and howitzer; with torpedo and bomb, with shell and shrapnel, with dynamite and poisonous gas, turned against women and children, as well as against fighting men, with a skill never equaled and a cruelty unsurpassed, the nations answered with a thunderous "No!" "No!" said these voices of hell, "there is no such thing as human love and brotherhood." Christendom has yet to learn what the application of the principles of Christ demands in relation not only to personal, but also to social, industrial, and national lives.

What, then, is the lesson of this collapse of civilization? Religious-minded people think that it is a new revelation of God. This war is, in fact, the most apocalyptic thing in all history. It has broken the entail of the past. Modern European history has been said to date from the Napoleonic Wars. Our new modern history will date from 1914. We are now laying its foundation. The war has thus brought the world a magnificent opportunity to make a new beginning.

History teaches us that these moral catas-

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trophes all have their causes. They are prepared by the acts of men and nations. Wise old Dr. Holmes said: "War is no accident, but an inevitable result of long incubating causes; inevitable as the cataclysms that swept away those monstrous births of primeval nations." If this be true, the occurrences of August, 1914, the intensification of the strife, the enlargement of its area, and the tremendous issues, should make men look to the larger facts which lie behind these events.

For several decades our universities have been absorbed with the evolutionary philosophy. Up to the outbreak of the war, many of us had been taught to think of the future of mankind in terms of evolution, that is, that progress is made by slow and gradual steps only, or, as one has said, "by the aggregation of infinitesimal increments of advance." This way of looking at human things was due, of course, to the triumph of the evolutionary theory in natural science. Since the progress of nature is so inconceivably slow, how absurd it is, they said, for us to be impatient with social wrong! It was unscientific to expect human society to improve any faster. If nature takes so long to evolve the soul, how

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absurd for the theologians to teach that the soul can be new-born in a moment!

The historians of human thought will trace the great and all-pervading influence of the theory of Darwin on the whole realm of social, political, and religious thought and action. This newest materialism has blunted the edge of our religious thinking, and is largely responsible for the terrible error from which we are suffering to-day. But its end is near. Even before this cataclysm we were coming to see that evolution by infinitesimal increments, while perhaps true up to a certain point in nature, was not a complete account of human life. There is much in science, as well as in history, that cannot be accounted for by its formula. De Vries teaches us now that evolution is not sufficient to account for many facts of plant life, and the bacteriologists tell us that it does not explain many phenomena in their field. All we are learning about the nature of matter leads us to the same conclusion. Tremendous leaps have been discovered in nature which contradict the theory of Darwin. We believe now that there is in human history a revolutionary, as well as an evolutionary, element. Just as we believe that there are

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perfectly new personalities being born in the world which are more than rearrangements of the characteristics of their ancestors, so we believe that there have been clean, new beginnings, prodigious and sudden cataclysms in human society. Is not this one of them?

Why do we believe in revolution as well as evolution? Most men still believe that they are free. Then the moment we give a place to human freedom, we realize that the theory of evolution by infinitesimal degrees is insufficient to describe human life. We borrow evolution from nature, but nature's categories cannot explain human nature. When we come to study men, we must use a new term, we must speak of education, and education is an entirely different process from evolution. If this be so, the apocalypse, the revelation of truth through revolution, is a part of God's plan for the education of man.

We must believe, I say, that man is by his very nature endowed with freedom. If man chooses, he can go wrong. Sometimes he goes wrong for years together, sometimes whole nations go wrong for decades. Thus begins the downward process. See how it evolves. Evil appears to triumph everywhere; the wicked

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prosper more than the righteous, and the fool says in his heart that the wrong works better than the right.

Under all discouragement, however, the fight for righteousness goes on. There is in this world such a thing as judgment, and all this time judgment is accumulated. When men have been outraged until they will stand it no longer, then comes a revolution. Darkness falls. The wind of death wraps the nations in its wings. Civilizations sink in blood. Once more men see what sin means. All the evil hidden during the years is dragged out into the light of eternity. It is shown once again that evil does not succeed in God's world. The old Hebrew philosophy is again shown to be eternally right, and men realize that this is only another apocalypse, a moment of judgment.

But history teaches us that such cataclysms are not the end; they are the beginning. There is in them not merely a possibility, but a promise of progress as sudden and immense as was the coming of the Judgment. Time and time again there has come, breaking out of the wreck of the past, one of these forward leaps in history. May we not in this dark hour look forward to such a dawn? Moreover, what we

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hope for is not simply a zig-zagging, slow-climbing, evolutionary path up the height of civilization from which we have fallen, but the beginning of a new era on a new moral basis. Thus it is that as our eyes grow accustomed to the night, we see through the darkness the eternal stars pointing the true way of human progress, which is the way, not of evolution, but of revolution—of revolution directed by an all-powerful and righteous God, who is also a God of mercy and of love.

What we have now to look forward to is a new epoch which God has initiated by his judgment, and in which he will regenerate and heal, if men will only turn to him. Not evolution, therefore, but the judgment and the mercy of God are the ideas which come to us to-day with new power and hope, as we look through the symbolism of this apocalypse into the eternal truth.

Will men only respond to God's summons in this judgment? Never in history has man had such an opportunity to learn what pride and war mean. Twenty-five million men have probably experienced it in their own bodies and souls, and perhaps a billion other men, women, and little children have suffered its horrors

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with them. And, alas! the conclusion of the war cannot end this suffering. Unborn children will bear its burdens and sorrows for ages to come. Will men learn the lesson and pass from the condemnation of war to the condemnation of the spirit that makes war? Will they see the revelation, will they then receive it and learn its lesson? Under the tuition of his Spirit, we believe they will. This is God's apocalypse. Again a tremendous, forgotten biblical truth is receiving transcendent expression. Sin has worked death.

What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter? On what ground may we hope for the progress of humanity? Only on the ground that God rules. Only on the ground that God so loved the world that he gave his Son to save it. Does history give us hope to-day? Has Christianity failed to influence the lives of men and nations? Have these twenty centuries counted for naught? Let us see.

When we ask in what respect the modern world is an improvement upon the ancient, a common answer is that the development of the physical forces and their applications in production, transportation, and the other conveniences of life are the vital achievements.

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If this is all, we are not surprised that we have made no progress toward the abolition of war, for the development of physical force only creates more wealth and contributes little to man's spiritual life. Have we, then, made no spiritual progress in modern times? The evidences of our material civilization, exhibited in manufactures, commerce, trade, and the comforts of modern life, are on the surface and apparent to all. It is not so easy to prove our moral progress. The spiritual growth of man is necessarily slower. It is only through labor and sorrow that the soul is saved. The battle of the spirit against the flesh is terrible, in nations as well as in individuals. Often when a new fortress of righteousness seems about to be taken by the white-robed warriors of the soul, the black hordes of the elemental passions burst forth and drive them back to the plains where the battle has to be begun all over. But in spite of all these losses and discouragements, it is still true, is it not, that the supreme glory of the modern world is the development of a sense of humanity, and the realization of the brotherhood of man? Slowly, and through grievous struggles, man is learning that all men "should brothers

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be," and that "Above all nations is humanity."

The war itself gave many opportunities for the further development of this spirit, proving anew its vitality and power to heal. It is true, is it not, that while on the one side there never was such a cruel war, on the other there never were so many manifestations of the sympathy of man for man? The work of the Red Cross and of the Relief Commissions shows that even during this dreadful time the spirit of humanity grew. Never in history was there such an overwhelming outpouring of generous aid and tender sympathy, regardless of the race, rank, and nationality of the suffering. This is the true neutrality; this is the one encouraging thing in these sad months. Strange as it may seem at such a time, the whole world, as well as America, is developing an ever-stronger sympathy.

We are deeply concerned about the influence of this catastrophe upon our young men. While it is undoubtedly true that war, through service to the sick and wounded, contributes to our spiritual development, its influence upon the young is, in many respects, vicious. The war spirit exalts physical prowess and

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martial success, glorifying the heroism of the soldier, the professional destroyer of human life. We are bound to admire self-sacrificing courage wherever found, and nothing perhaps appeals to the young like the heroism of battle. But the warrior is not the highest type of hero. Wordsworth, it is said, wrote his "Happy Warrior" as a protest against the attention bestowed upon the military characters developed in the French war, and especially against the praise heaped upon Lord Nelson, whose public life was even then stained by a great crime.

"Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?" . . .
"It is the generous Spirit, who, when brought
Among the tasks of real life, . . .
Makes his moral being his prime care; . . .
More skilful in self-knowledge, even more pure,
As tempted more; more able to endure,
As more exposed to suffering and distress;
Thence, also, more alive to tenderness."

But the love of fight is an instinct inherited from the countless generations of men. Through physical contest largely man has attained to his present position, and it is to this love of contest that the statesmen and the generals appeal when they call men to war. We are dealing here with something original,

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natural, universal, and, I believe, also indestructible—a force that lies deeper in human nature than ambition or love of self. Since this love of warfare is one of the strongest natural instincts, it is hopeless to undertake its total suppression. The impulse is closely related to the instinct of self-preservation, and to that of hunger and of sex, which, we know, can never be extirpated so long as the race lives. The problem, then, is not how to eradicate this love of contest, but how to direct it into proper channels.

Just as we have utilized the great natural forces for useful purposes, so we must direct these great natural instincts in such a way that they shall become humanizing and creative, instead of cruel and destructive. Lightning was regarded by primitive man as purely destructive. Jove cast his bolts in anger and for the punishment of men; but electricity, first caught from the clouds by Franklin, has been thoroughly mastered by Volta, Faraday, and Edison, until now it is accepted as the most serviceable instrument of human welfare, operating our machinery, lighting our habitations, and flashing our thoughts around the world. Precisely in this manner we have al-

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ready conquered some of these primordial instincts. Hunger, a brutal passion in the savage, has been at least partially refined, until now all civilized men eat and drink without fighting, and some of us even in accordance with the laws of dietetics. So too the passion of sex, which among early men wrought frightful brutality, and which has been in all ages the curse of civilization, has now become among moral people the greatest constructive force of human society—bringing together the family, which is the unit of society, the unit of government, the unit of church, and the beginning of heaven on earth. In similar manner we must civilize this appalling passion for war and convert this natural fighting instinct from barbarous and destructive uses to humane and beneficent ends. The fierce impulses that stir nations to war must be applied to mercy instead of to misery, to rescue instead of to ruin, to life instead of to death.

These humanitarian tasks may be unromantic—they are usually unexciting—but they often try men's hearts as severely as does any battle. The courage of the soldier is strongly sustained by companionship. Whether marching into battle or lying in a trench, he has the

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support of his fellows and looks forward to promotion and to glory. But plain men are daily dying in solitude for humanity. The professional soldier leads a healthful and routine life which may last for years, and has in his whole career only one day, or perhaps one hour, of danger, while some of our ordinary workers are daily risking their lives without any suspicion that they are acting the part of heroes. The miner enters each day into the tunnel where he may be crushed, smothered, or blown up; the riveter works at his perilous task high in the air on the skeleton of a many-storied building; the physician faces disease without fear, striving to overcome some great epidemic; the explorer tramps hundreds of miles through trackless swamps and forests filled with wild men and beasts; the missionary seeks some far-away land and commits the life of his family to the mercy of a savage people whom he seeks to save—none of these thinks he is a hero. They are only doing their duty. Such men, as well as those who fight our physical battles, are true soldiers.

“Dream not helm and harness
The sign of valor true;
Peace hath higher tests of manhood
Than battle ever knew.”

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The man who stood at the head of my class at the university, a fine classical scholar, immediately on graduation, asked the American Board of Foreign Missions to send him to some needy place that no one else would take. It was important at the time, for the sake of humanity, that a station be established in that far-away corner of Alaska inside the arctic circle, known as Cape Prince of Wales. Harry Thornton accepted the task and went there with his young wife to establish a mission for a small tribe of uncivilized people. After laboring six years without seeing a man of his own race, he was assassinated by some of the people he was trying to help. But before he died Thornton had started a school and a church which have since become the center of civilization for all that region.

Never was there a nobler band of soldiers than the small one organized by Major Reed, of Virginia, to study yellow fever in Cuba. Reed and his companions, Carroll and Lazear, accomplished their appointed task and then gave up their lives. No deed of battle ever surpassed the self-sacrifice of Lazear, who deliberately let mosquitoes settle on his hand and infect him with yellow fever. He was

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willing to sacrifice himself in order that the world might be delivered from a scourge which had caused the death of more Americans than all our wars.

It is not necessary, either, to go to foreign lands in order to give one's life in this way. Howard Taylor Ricketts, of Rush Medical College, Chicago, and Thomas Brown McClintic, of the University of Virginia, both sacrificed their lives in similar manner in order to discover the cause and cure of Rocky Mountain fever.

The present war has also brought heroes of science and humanity. The war against typhus in Serbia has been conducted by a noble band of physicians, many of them Americans. James F. Donnelly, of Brooklyn, and Ernest P. Magruder, of Washington, both officers of the American Red Cross, have already given their lives for this cause. We, of Cincinnati, may well be proud of the heroism of our fellow townsman, Dr. Paul Morton Lane, who, after recovering from the typhus contracted in Serbia, has returned to help that afflicted people.

But you do not have to be a soldier or army surgeon in order to give your life for humanity. Disease and dirt, ignorance and super-

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stition, are just as dangerous as ball and shrapnel. Brutality and savagery are often as firmly intrenched and as difficult to dislodge from their fortresses as maxims and howitzers behind barbed wire. It is a brave thing to be a soldier, but it is a still braver thing to be a saviour.

Shall not the time come, therefore, when the application of this fighting instinct to the purposes of war will be considered a base prostitution of a noble force in human nature, a condition from which true men will turn with horror, to devote themselves to the real wars of humanity? When that time does come, as it surely will, the famous names of history will not be those of great generals who have destroyed hostile armies, but those of the foremost leaders of thought who have directed the forces of science and of education for the healing and the salvation of the nations.

What, then, is the duty of our colleges and universities? We found that there was nothing wrong in fighting, provided you were fighting the right enemy, for the right cause, with proper weapons, and in a decent way. The problem before us is to apply this fighting spirit to the urgent tasks of science, medicine,

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education, religion, and mercy. Hundreds of noble causes call for thousands of trained men and women. Our universities and colleges should then constitute the general staff of this world army of philanthropy carrying on campaigns for the development of all human resources and for the destruction of the diseases of body and soul. Colleges and universities are not merely places for study. They should be the brains and the hearts to direct the world in action. As Milton said: "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for."

Let the colleges, then, declare a war for civilization; let them call to the colors of humanity the heroic youth of the world and join battle with the forces of ignorance and barbarism.

What shall be the part of our country in bringing in this "Better Era"? Some enthusiasts declare that we should be the arbiter of the nations in this terrible crisis. This suggests a boastful spirit. By all means let us be peace-makers, if we may, but not Pharisees, thanking God that we are not as other

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men are. Let us first confess our own sins of aggression and cruelty. Let us be grateful for our situation between the seas, for our institutions, for our freedom, for our ideals, and, especially, for the privilege of ministering to those suffering in the war. If this be our spirit, the opportunity for service to humanity will be even greater after than during the war. We hope it is the mission of America to show the nations how to live together like brethren in a strong federation. If we only keep our hands clean of innocent blood, we may help to make peace among the nations. If we only keep our conscience clear, America may become the conscience of the world, and propagate the ideals of right over might, of law over force, of service over conquest. But America can best serve mankind at this awful time by keeping right herself. The higher our standards of national conduct, the greater will be our power in the "Better Era." In this way only can we prepare our nation to discharge the task imposed upon her as the champion of humanity. Not for our own salvation, not for our own glory, but for humanity's sake, let us, therefore, now consecrate ourselves to truth and righteousness.

II

TRUE PREPAREDNESS

PREPAREDNESS is the theme of the hour. The newspapers and magazines discuss little else. We have preparedness processions and preparedness conventions; preparedness drills and preparedness camps. Most of us accept military preparedness as an unfortunate necessity in this stage of the world's development. No true citizen would neglect any measure for the security of the nation. I shall, therefore, not argue for military preparedness. But the application of the preparedness idea does not cease there. Caught by a new word, fascinated by a new phrase, men are preaching preparedness as a universal measure. Its advocates proceed enthusiastically to apply it to industry, to government, and to private life, as well as to plans for the defense of the nation. It is to be the remedy for every political and social evil, the method of promoting every economic and industrial interest. Attracted by the popular excitement, the reformers and agitators, the politicians and demagogues, the faddists

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and fakirs are everywhere shouting for preparedness. The need of preparedness has come to be spoken of also by serious people as an axiom and an aphorism. Some would make it the criterion of every social program, the shibboleth of every political party. It is a dictum to which we must assent or be outcasts, a creed we must accept or be damned. At such a time it is well to think soberly of the whole subject.

Let us remember, first, that this excitement about military preparedness has a temporary cause. This cause is found in the two awful tragedies of the day—the bitter tragedy of the war in Europe and the smaller, but to us, nearer, tragedy of the utter breakdown of government in Mexico. The spectacle of so many armed men, equipped in such marvelous fashion to use such titanic forces in such desperate fighting, naturally arouses much emotional excitement concerning military matters. The storm of anarchy raging now for nearly five years in Mexico, which on several occasions has thrown its bloody waves upon our shores, also awakens our deep concern, and turns our thoughts to means of defense and restoration of order. This is all very natural,

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but such spectacles and such fears furnish no proper basis for an estimate of our permanent necessities and requirements. They should be considered only as object lessons of the advisability of preparedness everywhere and always.

This propaganda in favor of preparedness has the fault of every propaganda. Its advocates are so excited that they have only a vague idea of the principle involved. The preparation of a nation is a long process. The military preparation of the Central Powers has required a hundred and fifty years. To say too that their preparation was military is to state only a part of the truth. As a matter of fact, their preparation has consisted chiefly, not in the production of armaments, but in the training of their people to believe in militarism.

In the first place, let us remember that the doctrine of preparedness is as old as nature and history. The preparation of the earth through the ages and the preparation of plants and animals, period by period, is an essential part of the modern doctrine of evolution, but thousands of years before evolution was conceived of, men recognized the truth of preparedness in nature and taught the law of

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preparation in government, industry, and commerce, as well as in war. Nature, history, and practical experience have, in fact, taught men through the ages the necessity of systematic preparation in all departments of life. The course of nature is one continuous process of preparation. Astronomy, geology, and biology all teach us that the material world was progressively prepared, just as history, philosophy, and religion teach us that the minds and souls of men have been prepared through the ages.

If we consider, first, the material world, and look up into the heavens through the telescope, we learn that out of chaos was prepared a cosmos, and out of nebulæ, the planetary systems with their suns, moons, and worlds. If by the aid of chemistry we look down into the minute things of matter, we see that out of electrons are prepared atoms; out of atoms, molecules; out of molecules, crystals; out of crystals, mountain ranges. So physical geology teaches us that each change on the surface of the earth was a preparation for another change, each period a step in the preparation of the earth for man. Mountain and plain, river and ocean, all were prepared by the Creator for the coming of man, the

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creature made in his image, who was to have dominion over them all. We see more clearly every year that the material world was prepared deliberately and with design and purpose to be the home of life, culminating in the life of mind and spirit. As the wise man said, three thousand years ago: "The Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth; by understanding hath he established the heavens. By his knowledge the depths are broken up, and the clouds drop down the dew."

So it is also in the world of life. Each species of plant was a preparation for a more perfect one—the algæ for the ferns, and the ferns for the flowering plants. Every new animal was a preparation for a higher one—fishes for reptiles, and reptiles for mammals. First the frost and water, then the bacteria and earthworms, prepare the soil for the grass; the grass is food for the ox; and the ox is food for man. The seasons also sing of preparation for the coming life—winter for spring and its flowers, spring for summer and its harvests, and summer for autumn and its fruits. In all our plans we rely upon the orderly sequence of the days, the months, and the seasons—morning preparing for noon, noon for night,

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and each month for the next, the year round. The farmer relies upon nature's help in preparing the soil and in supplying the rain. Wise husbandmen, like the squirrels, lay in their fruits for the coming winter; "like the ants, a people not strong, they prepare their meat in the summer."

Now, as it is in the cosmic orders, planetary systems, geologic periods, and genera of plants and animals, as it is with the seasons, so it is with each individual life, whether it be a bacterium, plant, animal, or man. Each has a special period of preparation, a time of incubation or a chrysalis stage, as well as a spring of growth and a summer of fruitage, before it yields the stage of life to its successor.

Of no living thing is this more true than of man. As all nature labored to prepare the world for man, so his preparation for complete living has been the task of the ages. To make man worthy of his Maker is the final end of all natural things—the end of our society, institutions, and governments, as well as of our homes, schools, and churches. Philosophers tell us that as we go up the scale of life, whether it be bird, lower mammalian, or man, the period of infancy and preparation grows con-

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stantly longer and more important in its influence on the development of the species. The greater the brain and nervous system, the longer is the period of preparation. Preparation is the law of education.

History teaches the same lesson. Each age, each nation, has been a preparation for a better age and a greater nation. To his chosen people God said: "Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared." True to his promise, through all history the angel of the Lord has led his people into one prepared land, then into another—first into Palestine, then into Greece, then to Rome, then into continental Europe, and now to America. Throughout all ages the command has been: "Prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people."

The solemn question for us to-day is: Whither shall the angel of the Lord lead his people next? It will surely be into a prepared land, into the land where men are ready to do the Lord's work. The leading people of the future will inhabit the land best prepared to develop men. Will it be Europe, will it be the

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Orient, or will it be America? If science and history teach us anything, they teach us that the great civilization of the future will develop in a prepared land among a prepared people. Whether Americans shall be that people will depend upon how they are prepared in body, mind, and soul.

This law of preparation governs the spiritual as well as the material world. The minds and the spirits of men are being prepared, together with their bodies. Men were given a church and religion for the development of their spirits. As he made an earth for training their bodies, so God built a temple for training the souls of men. Through the ages his spiritual temple has been preparing. Abraham built his altar at Bethel. With the stone that was his pillow when he had the vision of the ladder into heaven, Jacob built his house of the Lord. After the plans given by God in the mount, Moses built the tabernacle in the wilderness. We read that "All the work of Solomon was prepared unto the day of the foundation of the house of the Lord and until it was finished. So the house of the Lord was perfected." And the prophet declared: "And it shall come to pass in the latter days, that

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the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow into it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." So in due course of time John the Baptist came "to make ready a people prepared for the Lord," and Jesus taught that his heaven was to be a prepared place for prepared men. "Come, ye blessed of my Father," he said, "inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

There has always been, in every age, a leading people in a specially prepared land. Assyria, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, all had their day of glory and service. Do we desire that our land may be this prepared land, the land of peace, the home of progress and the mother of the coming race? What, then, is our ideal for America? Are wealth and power our only ends? Shall we be satisfied with mere quiet and the chance to feed and multiply? Or have

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we a higher ideal? "Broad-based upon her people's will," America has a higher destiny than to breed men and make them fat with ease. Theodore Parker has given us the classical definition of the American idea. In 1850 he said: "This idea demands, as the proximate organization thereof, a democracy that is a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people; a government of the principles of eternal justice; the unchanging law of God. For shortness' sake, I shall call it the idea of Freedom." This is the American idea, this is the purpose of our nation, the realization of freedom in a democracy, the embodiment of eternal justice in a government of the people. This government which our fathers left us it is our duty to preserve and develop. How, then, shall we, their descendants, do this? Can we do it merely by marshaling our industries and drilling our people as some propose? Can we by "scientific efficiency" save America and make her a moral power in the world? Preparedness is not merely the training of the people in "scientific efficiency," that is, "mechanized efficiency." True national preparedness is something far different from and much larger than engineering

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skill or industrial organization; it is socialized energy, it is the intelligence and character of a people organized for service. This kind of efficiency cannot be drilled into a people by autocratic authority. Social efficiency is a human, a spiritual quality.

Moreover, such a quality becomes a social force only through democratic agencies. A machine may be efficient in a certain sense, but it cannot be efficient in the sense that a human being is; for a machine cannot conform itself to conditions, but must, when not directed by a man, perform one process at all times and under all circumstances. Only a human being can direct himself, guiding his actions by a mind and a conscience. In an autocracy the people need no conscience, for the sovereign orders what shall be done. Only in a democracy, where men are free to use their own minds and consciences, can true social efficiency exist. In an autocracy the people cannot possess this socialized energy; they cannot be truly efficient. As Shelley says:

"Power, like a desolating pestilence,
Pollutes whate'er it touches, and obedience,
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
Makes slaves of men, and of the human frame
A mechanized automaton."

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As I have said in another place:¹ There is a wide difference in the point of view toward education in the monarchy and the republic. Founded upon the "divine right" to govern, the monarchy begins the training of its people by building universities and technical schools to educate agents to rule and officers to drill its subjects. It molds and trains rather than educates its citizens from above downward, until each one is made to fit exactly into his appointed place and to do in the most efficient way his prescribed work. In such a government, the university for the classes comes first in time; the free public school for the masses comes last. In the democracy the order of procedure is exactly reversed. It begins with the free school and educates its citizens from below upward, through high schools and colleges, lifting all up, and up, in proportion to their qualifications, and finally sending the fit to the university to be made the leaders of thought and action. The democratic system of education gives every man the freest opportunity to become in the fullest measure all for which nature has fitted him. It aims to educate each individual so that he may attain the maximum of

¹ The Forum, February, 1900, p. 663.

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his possibilities in the direction of his peculiar talents and opportunities. This system produces not a few classes of type men, as the system of the monarchy, but a world of freely developed souls, possessing infinite diversity of potentiality and purpose. The democracy gives a chance to the poor boy, as well as to the rich, and demands of each that he be the best and do the best he can. It aims, thus, not to trim the man to fit a little place, but to educate him to carve out an ample place for himself.

How, then, can the democracy develop this true efficiency? Only by educating and training its individual members and giving them character, as well as intelligence. Where each individual is a part of the sovereign power, he must have not only intelligence, but conscience. The efficient democracy is embodied conscience and heart.

In the sense in which the Germans conceive it, we have in this country no national system of education, and we are glad we have not. Such a system would be totally inconsistent with our free American institutions. We have no place in this country for a machine for manufacturing civil officials, soldiers, diplomats, or even legislators, much less scholars. We have

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no such national system, but we have a great body of educational institutions; not a machine, but a living organism, potent to beget, nourish, and train men competent to discharge all the duties which belong to them as members of a free republic.

This body of institutions is, as we have just seen, a growth, not a creation; the product, not of any government or series of men even, but of the genius of the whole American people, working for two centuries in their own field, with the help of the whole world, to be sure, but guided by the spirit of their own institutions.¹

The paramount issue, then, that is brought home to us by this European war and by this anarchy in Mexico is not merely military preparation. That is necessary, but that is not enough. The paramount issue is the issue of the development, through the education and the moralization of the people, of a more perfect socialized energy. A state is truly great only in the moral qualities of its members, and moral qualities can be developed only by the mutual interaction of minds and hearts. The primary

¹ Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Johns Hopkins University, February 21, 22, 1902, p. 55.

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business of the state is not war, it is the making of men. Character and courage are the first characteristics of the prepared people. Even in war it is not the big gun that wins the battle, it is the man behind the gun; it is not even the high explosive which actuates the gun, it is the character of the man. Not munitions but morale won the war.

I have said enough, I hope, to show that we have much to do in the preparation of this nation, besides drilling soldiers, training nurses, or paying taxes for guns and munitions, war-ships and forts. It is by preparing ourselves that we can best prepare our country for the struggles ahead of her—by preparing ourselves in mind, heart, and conscience. Proud as we are of what has been done, it is my duty to say that our preparation has only just begun. We desire to become cooperating citizens of a nation prepared for the greatest tasks to which any people was ever called. Then we can best prepare this nation to meet these tasks by making ourselves noble men and women.

“A people is but the attempt of many
To rise to the completer life of one;
And those who live as models for the mass
Are singly of more value than they all.”

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The opportunity to serve comes to every prepared man and woman, and when it comes it will call for all the talents and all the character one can muster. Prepare! Success is never accidental. There is no luck in the moral world. True success is always prepared.

I have tried to show that education is not all, and efficiency is not enough; that there must be character back of education and efficiency. Man is something more than body and mind—he is a soul.

Tolstoy said, "It is necessary for man to have a soul." Why? Because there are many things which it is impossible to explain without a soul. One of these things is man's progress. In order to move forward the race has through all the centuries regularly had to sacrifice the body to the soul. In wars and martyrdoms, on the block and at the stake, man has given his body to make way for his spirit. The soul has been marching over the body through these thousands of years. Behind and above all human progress has stood the regnant soul. For this reason no other animal has progressed like man. Hogs to-day are just the same as the Gadarene swine which ran down the bluff of the Sea of Galilee. The

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horse is to-day no nobler than he was when Alexander drove him to his chariot. But man is still pressing up the heights of progress, holding in his hand the lamp of liberty that lights the path to the home of the immortals.

It is also necessary for a nation to have a soul. Has America a soul? Our fathers made the great sacrifice that we might have souls, but are our souls marching on? What are we sacrificing for the souls of our children? Have we met the large issues of the last two years as we should have done? More than one nation has found its soul in these last terrible years. While their souls are marching on so grandly, some of us are wondering if Americans have not been selling their souls for Mammon. Have we not failed to take the moral leadership we should? Morally have we not lost our way?

Upon us will be the duty to lead this people back into the right way. Some of us will be called upon to sacrifice that the soul of this nation may go marching on. Are we ready, ready in spirit, as well as in mind and heart? We must prepare our souls, as well as our minds and hearts. The supremest preparedness is soul preparedness.

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How shall we get this soul preparedness? Only by the pursuit of truth and righteousness. Then must we have an ideal of the truth and a standard of righteousness; in other words, we must have a religion. Without religion neither man nor nation can make any progress in righteousness, justice, or brotherhood. Religion is the only safe foundation of personal and national life. This is true of all forms of national life, but it is above all true of the democracy. Our whole American system rests upon the moral judgment and right feeling of the people, and religion is the only means of cultivating moral judgment and right feeling. I sincerely believe that the only hope of the democracy is that the people shall believe in God and shall learn from him to live righteously and to love their fellow men.

Saint Paul has taught us that the man whose light and strength is God can stand alone. He may be abused, vilified, persecuted, but he will not flinch. He will regard duty as a finer thing than life, prefer death to dishonor, and stand face to face with grim terror, fighting on when all others have fled the field.

We are told that the noblest thing Pompeii

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has yielded to the explorer was that "figure of a Roman soldier, clad in complete armor, who, true to duty, true to the proud name of a soldier of Rome, full of the stern courage which had given that name its glory, stood to his post by the city gate, erect and unflinching, until the hell that raged around him burned out the dauntless spirit it could not conquer." Such, doubtless, was the Roman soldier Paul had in mind. Magnificent example of the man now needed to withstand the volcanic eruptions of these times! Like that Roman soldier, may we stand, having our loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; and our feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.

III

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THE great war in which we have been engaged is only one phase of this same age-old contest between the spirit and the flesh, between right and might, which has been going on since the world began. The "will to power" led Cain to kill his brother, just as it led men to-day to kill their brethren. But this brutal lust for power will not conquer in the end. The desire of the human soul for liberty and righteousness cannot be killed. Little by little man is winning the freedom and justice which is the only basis of permanent peace. It was a desperate struggle from the beginning, but the champions of the Spirit are winning to-day as they have always won. For God has given them the pledge of his support. To the soldiers of liberty his command comes again.

We are indeed fortunate to be living in such times as these. For nineteen hundred years there has been no such high moment as this. And the entry of America into this struggle was its supreme event. Whether as volunteers

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or selected men for the army and navy, physicians and nurses in the Red Cross, makers of munitions, or producers of food, those who are able to take a hand in this tremendous struggle are to be congratulated.

First, think of the vastness, the stupendous force, and the significance of this war. Behold how the single countries, one after another, fell into the crucible, until nearly the whole world was in the vast, fiery furnace. The times were mad, and every shore of humanity was swept by the fury of this conflagration. It was Armageddon indeed.

The world is ripe for a true victory for liberty and righteousness. When human institutions are in the melting pot, men's long-repressed aspirations have opportunities for free expression in the formulation of new systems such as never existed before. A mighty process of preparation has been going on for years. Never was there so much knowledge, so widely spread, and with such means of still wider dissemination. And never before did the world have so many new and excellent means for remolding itself upon lines of humanity.

For a century we had been living on such

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a level of comparative monotony that shortsighted people thought the soil of the earth was exhausted and the seed of life dead. The development of freedom had ceased, they said, and the progress of righteousness had come to a halt. Such is human nature that peace does not produce great moral triumphs. Inducing idleness, soft living, and corruption, peace is sometimes more deadly to spiritual interests than war. Poverty and toil make men strong; suffering and sorrow make them true; trials and temptations make them wise.

But the war has already made a prodigious change in the world. History is now being made at a tremendous rate, not merely in the shifting of national boundary lines, but by the springing to life of seeds of hope planted ages ago. Fertilized with the rich blood of the world's best men, the fields of earth are preparing a new springtime.

I do not fail to recognize the horrors and the sorrows of this most tragic war of history. War has indeed become in this day the most frightful evil of the world. We shuddered at the abominable cruelties and barbarities perpetrated, and we felt unspeakable detestation for their authors, but we recognized at the

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same time that this contest would decide the issue of the ages. We knew that when the fires had burned out, autocracy and imperialism would be dethroned, and that democracy and brotherhood would reign and bring in a new era of peace and progress.

Neither do we forget the sorrows of the people in the stricken countries. Already vast multitudes of old men and women in many lands walk sorrowfully in funeral processions, mourning their dead. We cannot forget them. It may be their eyes are holden, not knowing that One walks with them who is reproving them for slowness of heart to believe all that the prophets of old have told of the divine method in the creation and education of man. But the lesson is being learned. The revelation of the prophets is meeting to-day its parallel revelation in the vision of a world learning through suffering the duty of brotherhood and the beauty of righteousness. Therefore, even in these hours of awe, we should lift up our hearts with the thought that "many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which we see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which we hear, and have not heard them."



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Doubtless it is too early to reap the harvest sown in blood and tears. But it is not too early to recognize that a vast new crop of ideals is growing which it is our duty to cultivate. Even if we cannot gather them ourselves, we can at least enjoy the faith that others

"The issue of our toil shall see;
Young children gather as their own
The harvest that the dead had sown."

In spite, then, of the horror and the sorrow of it, we must remember that for Americans it was a spiritual war—a war of ideas, a war for liberty and equality, a war for the establishment of law and the rights of the weak, a war for democracy as the basis of world peace. Never was there, in fact, a war for truer spiritual ends. It was only for these causes that America was in the war. Nothing less could have brought her into it. Not for material reward, not for indemnity, not for conquest, not for territory, not for anything save the high duty of succoring democracy, so desperately and outrageously assailed, did we enter this war. We went into the war only for the ideals of the republic, to defend before the world the faith of the fathers who gave to us this government.

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For what is this our country? What does it stand for? A great stretch of territory with wonderful resources? A vast aggregation of arts and industries? A hundred million of happy and prosperous people? Yes, our country is all of these. But the United States of America is vastly more than this. This republic is a scheme of life, a system of society, a plan of freedom, a pledge of peace, and an ideal of opportunity—the organized expression of the belief that every human being shall have the freest opportunity for his own development in accordance with the powers his God has given him, and that nothing shall be put in the way of that free development either in men or nations. This is what the republic stands for. This is America—*Opportunity* for all men, all races, all nations! It was for this that the fathers died, upon this foundation they established this government. This we have not forgotten and this we shall never forget. It is to make sure that this ideal shall not perish from the earth that America went into this war. As our President said, “God helping her, she can do no other.”

It was for America a spiritual war, because it brought her an unprecedented opportunity

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for service and sacrifice. For three years we stood, watching this awful contest for the liberty and peace of the world, and doing nothing to help beyond selling munitions. Doing only this we were in danger of selling our souls. Had we seen it through to the end in this way and not taken our share of the burden, we should have been damned eternally. We should be glad that the course of events at last made it our privilege to join in this struggle for freedom and democracy.

"Let Freedom's land rejoice!
Our ancient bonds are riven,
Once more to us the eternal choice
Of good or ill is given.
Then praise the Lord Most High,
Whose strength hath saved us whole,
Who bade us choose that the flesh should die
And not the living soul."

We should be glad of the opportunity for sacrifice in such a cause. Great spiritual revivals come not by seeking. They are the product of unselfish efforts. True nobility is born only of service and sacrifice. America needed for her own soul's salvation to join the nations fighting for these most precious things of life. Every consideration of honor and principle required that she unite with them.

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As enduring friendships do not come of mere avowals of regards, but of a common struggle in some high and dangerous contest, so winning a righteous war together will, by revealing brave hearts to brave hearts, unite all true men in common aims. Such a mutual struggle will do more to unite the nations of freedom and peace than all the international treaties ever made.

Two things our American fathers hoped to give the nations of the earth—liberty and peace. They believed that these two things could be established only through democracy. Americans hoped always that all the nations would in time become democracies. We have watched for a century and a half, therefore, with intensest interest, the extension of liberalism and freedom throughout the governments of the world. We have indeed sympathized with all men everywhere who have dared to fight for liberty and the right of self-government; but it has been chiefly by words, not deeds, that we have expressed our sympathy. This war gave us the first real opportunity to help the other people of the world in their struggle for democracy. It gave us also the biggest opportunity we have ever had to promote the

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second object of our fathers—the establishment of world-wide peace. For only in a world of democracy can we hope to have permanent peace.

But we faced it! We were called to sacrifice as well as to service. The war cost us much in suffering and sorrow, in precious blood and lives. But we remember that all the spiritual good that has come down to us was paid for by the bloody sweat and tears and suffering of myriads of nameless martyrs. Like a great gulf-stream “of moving waters at their priest-like task of pure ablutions round earth’s human shores,” the tide of sacrifice flowed through the world to redeem and cleanse and sanctify it unceasingly. It flows now upon our shores.

This redemptive work is not a single act in time and place. Standing as it does for the supreme sacrifice, the cross is indeed the Rock of Ages, the foundation of all that makes life worth living, the foundation of life itself. But the whole of humanity was not saved by that one sacrifice. Self-sacrifice is a never-ending and divine process, in which the inmost heart of the universe is constantly breaking out in fresh flower. The cross is indeed its ever-

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living symbol, but it is not fixed forever on Calvary. Borne by heroic hands at the head of the endless consecrated procession of mankind, the cross is still marching down the ages, calling men to suffer and to die for their fellows. And it came to us on Good Friday, the sixth day of April, 1917. Did we shrink from taking it up? We did not. Where would the world have been if men, our elder brothers, had been afraid to die? Where would we be to-day, if our fathers had been afraid to die?

The constant necessity of sacrifice, the eternal reappearance of the cross, its ceaseless reenactment in history, is the surest proof of man's inalienable birthright of inward freedom and, as we see now more plainly than ever before, it is the only guarantee of his outward liberty. For this reason we made our contribution of sacrifice, our gift of blood and tears and life for the good of men.

The call to sacrifice came to Belgium, and she gave her sons by the thousands for the protection of her honor. It came to France, and she has given the lives of a million sons already, that liberty, equality, and fraternity may live in the world. The call came to Britain, and her sons on all the continents

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rallied to defend the freedom of the world.
And the call came to us to take up the Cross
for Freedom.

"O dearest country of my heart,
Make clean thy soul for sacrifice on Freedom's altar fire;
For thou must suffer, thou must fight until the war-lords
cease
And all the peoples lift their heads in liberty and in peace."

Think of the searching changes this war will make in human society. This world of men will never be the same again. As a result of this terrific cataclysm all the wrong things, the things without foundation and the improperly adjusted things—all the things that can be shaken will be thrown down. Laws that are not equitable will be altered; constitutions not founded on justice will be changed; monarchies having no foundation in right will be overthrown.

This woeful emergency has already driven all the people of the nations together as never before. As a result, the world is learning to live a family life, in which the only thing that counts is service. What a magnificent example of united service and sacrifice these European nations are setting for us! For the time being the people belong to their nations with everything they possess. The motto "Get, and

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gain, and grab" has been replaced by "Give, and serve, and love."

Moreover, social distinctions are lost sight of in the supreme distinction of a common duty. Whether in uniform or out of it, whether rich or poor, educated or ignorant, men are esteemed more and more for what they are and can do, and not for names or positions. Property is regarded not so much as that which a man can keep to himself as that, whether in wealth, in capacity, or in skill, "being proper to the man," he can give to his country's needs. It is not a "Liberty Loan" they are making, it is a "Liberty Gift" of all they are and have. This is the spirit of the European peoples and this is the spirit we must have in America, if we do our duty by them and by our country.

Now, men are already asking: "Why may this way of looking at the nation as one big family, realized under the stress of war, not continue when the danger is past and peace has come? Is not this, after all, the prime moral lesson of the war? Why may not men give themselves and all they have to the service of their country? Why may not the comradeship of the trenches, where rich and poor, lord and peasant, are, fighting on an

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absolute equality, continue after the war as a comradeship in office, farm, and factory? Was not the war sent to teach us how to live together as brethren in one great economic, social, and spiritual state? Shall we not learn the lesson and apply it in peace?"

But the important thing is that all the thoughts of men will be changed. Men will hereafter take a more spiritual view of life and all that belongs to it. Twenty millions of men who have faced the realities of life and death, of time and eternity, in the trench or in the charge, will return to civil life in the allied lands. These men will have found new ideals and new values in life. They went in lightheartedly and bravely, only perceiving dimly the issues. But they will come home changed men. On the day that permanent peace spreads her white wings over our world again, these men will come home tested, purified, exalted, with new ideals of life and duty. If they have learned nothing else, they will have learned that freedom is better than riches, service better than ease, sacrifice better than selfishness.

War purifies men. Men hitherto entirely enslaved in self-indulgence and sensual living

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will find themselves sobered, liberated, and redeemed. The spiritual impulses which they thought cast off with the clothes of childhood will reassert themselves, and the old ideals of loyalty, devotion, and sacrifice will become compelling again. The fire will try "every man's work of what sort it is," and though "his work shall be burned, he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire."

The sense of man's dependence on his God and of his duty to his brother in the trenches, the recognition of the Fatherhood of God and of the brotherhood of man, will become real and vital in millions of lives. Much has been lost in this war, but God the Father and man the brother will be found by multitudes.

Men who are ready to die for humanity will insist on having a chance to live for humanity. Such men as these will certainly demand not merely a free world, but a just world. They will insist that the children of the future shall in their day have a better chance to live and be happy, and will demand that government, industry, education—the whole social organism—shall be re-formed.

The war thus unquestionably made men more religious in spirit and life. But what

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effect will it have on the organization of religion, that is, on the churches? Such a baptism of fire will purify the churches as well as the people. But it will do more than purify, it will simplify and unite them. Undoubtedly, many phases of religion, hitherto deemed important, will lose their interest for the men who face these realities. The multiplication of sects, the assumptions of sacerdotalism, the elaboration of creeds, the ritualism and æstheticism of worship, which so occupy the minds of some ecclesiastics, seem unreal and foolish to men kneeling in the trenches, thinking on death and eternity. But, if the testimony of the thinkers at the front be true, the realities of religion, the recognition of the Fatherhood of God, of communion with him, of the brotherhood of man and the duty to him and the faith that leads to self-effacement and sacrifice never had such a strong hold on men.

The war has taught the people, those at home as well as those in the trenches, that, as Wells says, "only the complete simplification of religion to its fundamental idea, the world-wide realization of God as the King of the heart and of all mankind, will bring men security and happiness. The kingdom of God

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over a world-wide system of republican states is the only possible formula under which we may hope to unify and save mankind." This is the sane, simple, and convincing type of religion for which the world waits. This, we believe, is the only solution of the problem of the ages—the complete liberation and development of men. This is the hope that breaks upon our vision as we grope our way through this night of horrors—a setting free of all mankind, "a simplification of religion," "a kingdom of God over a world-wide system of republican states"—this is what our armies and navies fought for, and this is what we must verify and realize in our day.

Such will be, *must* be, the spiritual victory. No material victory will bring the world a peace worth having. It is not the new map to be made of Europe, it is not indemnities or alliances, that are going to matter. The Vienna Congress made a new map of Europe, and the terrible war was the result. The victory over Napoleon was a material victory, but a spiritual defeat for Europe. If this war is not to be a mere overture to another and more dreadful war, a material victory must not satisfy us. It is not enough to defeat

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imperialism and militarism; we must destroy throughout the world the spirit of which imperialism and militarism are the embodiment. For these ideas have no geographical limit. They are indifferent to all political organizations. They are common through all belligerents. There is danger that even we may become subject to the same wicked ambitions. Ours must, therefore, be a spiritual victory, a victory of ideas, a victory of peace and good will: a victory of love, not of hate; a victory of gifts, not of spoils; a victory that shall not rob any nation of a single right, but shall give all men the blessings of freedom and brotherhood.

It is to affirm a human bond stronger than any racial tie, stronger than any national union, or any confession of faith, that we went to war. It is not for the Fatherland of any one people, but for the Patrie des Ames—the Fatherhood of All-Souls, that we fought. It is to establish the brotherhood of all men, that communion of souls which is the essence of all religion, that we are contending. It is the idea of the larger communion, enlarged to embrace all men in all lands, which is already emerging from the welter and sacrifice of these days.

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The war was, of course, won on battlefields, but the war against militarism was already won in the domain of the spirit. What else meant the entrance of America, the revolution in Russia, the declarations of the neutral nations, if not an outpouring of the desire of mankind for a more perfect realization of the brotherhood of man? What else mean these voices beginning to be heard above the din of war to which men everywhere are listening, if not a new dispensation of peace and good will? Viviani in France, Lloyd George in Britain, Woodrow Wilson in America, are merely the voices of their people, demanding liberty and fraternity "in the widest commonalty spread." In all countries the builders of the new world order are emerging from the darkness; another and mightier army is organizing, the army of the rebuilders of the world! Already the war of ideas is won! The spiritual victory is ours!

These are some of the reasons why, shocking as the times were, we should feel it a privilege to have lived in them. These days are so fraught with vast possibilities that while we recognize that frightful dangers are lurking within them, nothing is too great to hope as their fruition. It seems, verily, as if God had

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gathered up all the glorious ideals, dreams, hopes, and visions of men out of all the centuries and was holding them out in overflowing hands to the people of this age as the reward of righteous war.

The future of this world assuredly belongs to the people who act truly and hold out bravely in this awful struggle. In such times no one dares live lightly. Each one of us has a definite and serious task to perform. Acting our parts thus in the fierce spotlight of this day, we should be inspired by the thought that the "choir invisible of those immortal dead," who poured out their blood so freely for these ideals, is watching now from above the clouds to see how we act our part in this great drama. Shall we fail to act our parts as they did theirs?

Shall we not, rather, praying the blessing of God and consecrating ourselves for any sacrifice, take our places in the army of these, our own loved ones here and those in Belgium, in France, in Italy or wherever they may be, who have fought for the honor of the past, the salvation of the present, and the hope of the future?

IV

INTERNATIONALISM OR IMPERIAL- ISM—WHICH?¹

As I stand before this body of students of all nations, I am deeply impressed with the thought that to you, and to those like you in your home lands, the civilized world must look for salvation from the confusion that threatens it to-day. The students of to-day must save the world of to-morrow. Although the happenings of the last few years do not encourage us much to trust to the professors and intellectuals to determine the great issues of civilization, we still hope that on the morrow, after the passion of the hour is past, reason and conscience will rule again, and scholars will decide the destinies of the nations. We must still believe that we can trust the interests of the world to men who, like you, are seeking sincerely to know the truth that is to make free all the people of the earth.

¹Address before the national convention of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, the Corda Fratres of Europe, at Columbus, Ohio. These Clubs are made up of university students devoted to the cause of internationalism and peace.

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If we cannot trust men such as these gathered here to-night, whom can we trust to save the world from destruction?

As I look into the faces of these young people of many countries another thought comes strongly to my mind. You young men from all the nations seem to me to represent those other young heroes now lying in the trenches upon a hundred fields, or sailing upon the seven seas, defenders of their respective lands in this unholy war. What a noble host they are! Who will deny their heroism, or, whatever we may think of the causes for which some of them fight, deprive them of their glory? We all recognize that these young men from different nations, though opposing each other with all their splendid energies, are moved to this conflict by a common idea. Each thinks he is fighting for his country's salvation; each is actuated by the same feeling of patriotism, and each, therefore, has our hearty admiration. The young Servian, fighting for the independence of his country; the Austrian, striving for the extension of his land; the Russian, hastening to the aid of his brother Slav; the German, battling to advance the Fatherland; the Englishman, fighting for honor

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and the right of small states; the Frenchman, resisting the robber of his home land; and bravest of all, the Belgian, fighting the Teutonic colossus for the very life of his country—all these sincere young men are patriots, all are heroes in their places.

You join with me in acclaiming the splendid spirit of these young warriors. Whether we approve their course or not, we admire their courage and heroism. We have no denunciation for these noble young heroes. It is not they who have brought this plague upon the world. The guilt does not rest upon them, but upon the teachers who have taught them false doctrines and upon their governments which have long been plotting to bring about this war.

But why this conflict of patriotisms? How can we explain the fact that all these earnest young men, now fighting for their native lands, are actuated by the same motive, patriotism? Holding as they do a common ideal, how can they thus fight each other? Is not this a situation worthy of our consideration? Is there not something wrong about this thing we call patriotism, which makes worthy young men of common ideals strive to murder each other?

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For ages we have been taught that war exalts the virtue of sacrifice, and is, therefore, a necessary part of the discipline of the human race. Luzzatti said the other day: "In this universal disaster patriotism alone triumphs," implying that the patriotism developed by this war made it all worth while. Certainly patriotism is splendid; it is the only splendid thing in this war; all else is horror. But even conceding this, we cannot agree with Luzzatti that it is good that the demon of international war should be let loose on the world, to the end that the pure and simple sentiment, love of country, shall be the better illustrated and understood by men. Is it indeed true that love of country can grow in our hearts only through the hatred of other peoples and through the wholesale murder of those who sacrifice themselves in the defense of their own lands? Is there not in this theory a ferocious absurdity that moves the very depths of our being? No, this is a hellish doctrine; love of country does not demand that we hate and slay all those good and faithful souls who also love their countries. True love of country grows out of our love for our fellows, for all humanity. It begins with love

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for those next to us, but extends to all good men everywhere. True patriotism should therefore lead us to respect the worthy men and women of all lands. Instead of leading us to hate them, true patriotism should teach us to honor them and to seek to unite ourselves with them in striving for the common good of men.

No, it is not true patriotism, then, that has brought on this war. These youths who are fighting so bravely did not provoke this war. The monster responsible for this carnage is the monster of imperialism. It is the will-to-pride and the will-to-power which seek to subdue all, to absorb all, which will suffer no greatness except their own, that have caused this war. Imperialism is the menace of the whole world to-day. It is the curse, not of Germany alone, but of all the nations who put their own welfare above the general good of mankind. All the ambitious nations have to a greater or less degree an imperialism of their own, whether feudal, financial, or military. Imperialism is everywhere the same terrible octopus seeking the best blood of the peoples of all lands for its own nourishment. This spirit of imperialism we must

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destroy wherever we find it, and in order to do this we must educate the young men of all nations in the higher patriotism, which shall see in the good of all men the highest good of their own nation.

William James has told us that if we would abolish war, we must first find some substitute, some moral equivalent, which will give to men opportunities to make an equal, or even a nobler, sacrifice of themselves than they can make in brutal war. It cannot be true that there is no better employment for the patriotism of one people than the destruction of another. Can we not sacrifice ourselves for the good of mankind without killing our neighbors? Surely, there is enough misery in this world to fight without adding the misery of war! Why not conscript our young men for an army to fight the evils of our present society, or to lessen the toil and pain and hardness which nature imposes on most of her children? Why not sacrifice ourselves for human improvement rather than for human destruction?

The nations are more closely bound together than ever before in the history of the world. United by the many civilizing forces,

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trade, science, literature, and art, and by the physical appliances of intercourse, railways, telegraphs, and mails, which are at once the cause and effect of other and stronger spiritual bonds, the vital interests of the peoples are largely common. The business and working men of all countries realize more clearly every day that these common interests are more important than their few remaining national antagonisms. But this war has cut squarely across a rapidly growing international organization and has shown us in an appalling manner that when patriotism is appealed to, kings and emperors can still count, even in this twentieth century since the coming of the Prince of Peace, upon an overwhelming response from their young men.

Did these international bonds, these forces for union—literature, science, commerce, and communication—all disappear at once upon the call to war, or do they still exist, held for the present in abeyance? As a matter of fact, we know that most of the commerce and communication are still real and vital. The international postal union, the railways and telegraphs, are still working, and all these other bonds are ready to resume operations

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at once on the close of the war. The people of all nations are intensely eager to set them to work again. The intellectual forces of internationalism, art, literature, and science, are represented powerfully here to-night. The bonds of internationalism have not yet all been broken even between belligerents, and our faith leads us to believe that the international mind, against which the national mind is now so strongly arrayed, will again ere long prevail, and that all men will be reunited in a brotherhood of nations.

No doubt there are those in Germany and in Austria who desire and intend, if possible, to destroy internationalism and to perpetuate hatred and war between the nations as a means of advancing their own selfish ends. But we believe that there are still those in every nation who, like the members of this Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, are determined, in spite of this catastrophe—yes, because of this catastrophe itself—to work for the internationalism which shall bring a permanent peace among the nations, and for a basis of cooperation in the great work of civilization which shall engage the worthy energies of all peoples. Such internationally

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minded persons believe that cooperation, not conflict, peace, not war, is the true destiny of nations.

To state the matter in a different way, back of this physical war among the nations, there is another war, a war between two ideas, a war between the idea of nationalism on the one side, and the idea of internationalism on the other. This deeper struggle is at present an intellectual and spiritual one, but we intend to see to it, do we not, that this war shall continue until the basis of a permanent peace is established in this world. Thousands of generous youths have, we believe, gone to battle in this present war in the belief that they are making war upon war, that they are fighting against militarism and imperialism, in behalf of peace and internationalism. Though we may think their methods wrong, we claim all such as our allies in this war on war. Yes, we call to you to-night, ye brave young heroes in the trenches on both sides. Though you know it not yet, if you are fighting against war, you were made to be our brethren, and we reach out our hands to you and hail you *Corda Fratres!*

I am glad to have the opportunity, there-

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fore, to discuss with you, representatives of the students of many lands, the subject of the true patriotism. If our conception of patriotism leads to such world chaos as we see to-day, certainly there must be something wrong with it. Nothing is more needed than a careful study of the philosophy of patriotism and of the prevailing doctrine of nationalism. At the present time we find everywhere the most confused notions as to the duties of nations to each other, and the relation of nationality to humanity at large. Our theory of patriotism should be not a mere abstraction of philosophy to be discussed in lecture halls. It is too vitally practical for that. Never was the supreme importance of the correct view of patriotism better illustrated than to-day. Must we not believe that if these noble young men of the different armies had been correctly instructed as to what constitutes true patriotism, the nations of the world would not now be engaged in this greatest of wars? This war is simply the wholesale murder of the flower of the manhood of the nations in the name of patriotism. If such slaughter of our best is necessary for the salvation of mankind in this period of the world, where then

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is our boasted moral progress? Where is our Christianity? Are we better than the savages of five thousand years ago? As a matter of fact, the peoples of the world are not the murderous fiends they appear to be. They do not in their consciences believe in these methods. They do not practice them in their private lives, and they do not believe that they are necessary to the preservation and the development of the nations to-day.

What, then, is the error? The answer to the query is not hard to find. The error is that we take our ethics from two entirely different sources, according as it has to do with individual or with national life. Our individual morality we take, or pretend to take, from the Sermon on the Mount. Our national morality we take from paganism. When once we have crossed the national frontier, our neighbor ceases to be our fellow-man and our brother, and becomes at once an alien and an enemy. What was vice in private life becomes virtue in international relations; what was brutality in private life becomes bravery in war. Deceit and lying, which would dishonor the private man, are dignified into diplomacy, and science and en-

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gineering skill are utilized for butchery. Covetousness of the property of others, which in private life would be recognized as a horrible crime, becomes a political virtue, a legitimate national ambition. In a word, collective egotism has become a virtue, and national lust has become devotion to the fatherland. A cynic has parodied this continental theory of national morality in these terms:

“Ye have heard how in old times it was said: Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth; but I say unto you, Blessed are the valiant, for they shall make the earth their throne. And ye have heard it said: Blessed are the poor in spirit; but I say unto you, Blessed are the great in soul, for they shall enter into Valhalla. And ye have heard that He said also: Blessed are the peace-makers, but I say unto you, Blessed are the war-makers, for they shall be called, if not the children of God, the children of Odin, who is our Teuton God.”

What, then, is true patriotism? So far from being the simple thing that it would seem, patriotism has become, in these last days, very complex and contradictory in character. The fact that it is so perverted is due in large

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measure to the sophistication of our modern philosophers. The moral perversion which has led us into these frightful conditions is based, in part, on an intellectual confusion. Let us try, then, to analyze the principle we call patriotism and to distinguish the different elements it contains.

Primitive patriotism, the love of home and country, has its source in that most beautiful of sentiments, mother love. A powerful prompting of nature makes us love the place where we were born. It is instinct, habit, association, not a moral principle, which produces this elemental love of our native land. Nor do we love our country because it is beautiful or comfortable—the frozen mountains of the North and the hot deserts of Sahara are both dear to men who call these home—but we love our country simply because it is our native land, the soil from which we sprang and which nurtured us. Such is the feeling of the individual in a primitive state.

As men begin to form communities and to lose the point of view of the individual, patriotism becomes the instinct of self-preservation. It is the collective instinct to defend the motherhome and the fatherland from the

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foreign invader. It is the same natural reaction which prompts the bee to sting the intruder in his hive, or the Indian to slay the trespasser on his hunting ground. This instinctive feeling may, of course, lead to brave deeds, just as an attack upon her cubs causes the tigress to assault furiously the hunter, or as any interference with his wife prompts the savage to slay the violater of his home. Such feelings are noble and such acts are heroic. But it too often happens that these feelings are appealed to by wicked leaders, and men are led into the most flagrant violations of right in the name of patriotism and self-defense. The naturally noble feeling behind the act does not always make the act a righteous one. In the belief that they are defending home and country men may be induced to invade and rob their neighbors. As was said by a renowned statesman, patriotism is often "the last refuge of the scoundrel." In the history of nations it has often been the excuse for the most infamous brutality, for the most cruel violation of the rights of others.

In our modern complicated civilization, however, patriotism is much more than this primitive and instinctive feeling. Mixed in it are

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many other elements which give it a very complex character. This modern patriotism is not only the native love of the man for the land that gave him birth and nourished him, it is not only the instinctive reaction against the invader of the home or community; patriotism, as popularly understood to-day, has become an abstract principle, an ideal of public duty, which should be the noblest and most comprehensive of virtues. This true patriotism is founded in intellect and supported by the love of mankind as a whole. It is the ideal of this higher patriotism that I present to you to-night.

In order to understand this higher patriotism, it is necessary to study further the foundations of the modern European conception of nationality and especially of the grounds for its defense. When we try to separate the natural and instinctive elements in patriotism from the unnatural or developed elements, we encounter serious difficulties. One of the first of these is the question of what constitutes nationality. What is the moral foundation of nationality? What is a nation, and what is our duty to it? Should we consider the nation as an absolute being, a kind of personality with a morality of

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its own, as some modern philosophers teach us we should? Is not the nation often a mere geographical expression, a territory to be defended against invasion, or to be the basis of action against the people of another territory? Moreover, is the state based merely on physical force? Is patriotism nothing more than the "will-to-power"? Why, I say, should the moral law direct and guide us in private life and cease to command us in international life? Does the right to claim the sacrifice of our lives in times of danger give our country the right to command that we surrender our conscience? I should like to discuss briefly two answers that are made nowadays to these questions. I shall describe these as the answer of the politician and the answer of the casuist, and shall try to prove to you that the answer of the former is superficial and immoral, and that the answer of the latter, when not vague and unreal, is positively pagan.

The answer of the politician, based, as it is, entirely upon the commercial needs of the nation, can be easily disposed of. He argues that we must go to war in order to expand our sphere of influence. Though he may say in poetic language that his nation is merely

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seeking a "place in the sun," he is really seeking commercial and military advantage. Such statesmanship, moreover, strives to seize new territories and to establish colonies, for the sake of the profit to be gained by exploiting them.

The assumption underlying the casuist's doctrine of absolute patriotism is that a people can realize its highest moral ideals only in the state and through the state, that only in the state can men move, live, and have their fullest being. This conception is nothing new in the world. It is merely a restatement of a very old idea derived from a time when the ancient state absorbed all the activities of its citizens, industrial, intellectual, and spiritual, from the time when the state was, indeed, the source of all knowledge, morality, religion, and art. This German idea of the state is only the pagan conception of patriotism and nationality revived and clothed in philosophical cant. It was the idea of Nebuchadnezzar, of Alexander, of Pericles, and of Cæsar. It was the system broken up by Christianity when it set man free by teaching man that he is the son of God, and thus established the lasting struggle between the flesh and the spirit that

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has been going on ever since. Jesus taught the world through the voices of Peter and Paul that God is the Father of Gentile and Jew, and that all men are brethren. Since every man is free to work out his own salvation, every race and nation must be free to develop its own peculiar characteristics in accordance with its own opportunities.

The blow which Christianity struck to the pagan idea has been repeated by modern science. Science teaches us now that so far is the state from being the foundation of morality that all moral progress has, in fact, been obtained in opposition to national law, and so far is the national state from absorbing all our activities, that, as a matter of fact, nearly all the higher activities of man, science, literature, religion, and art, are to-day not national at all, but international. As the years go by this becomes increasingly true of more elements of civilization.

The so-called philosophical idea, the old pagan idea, provides far too narrow a foundation for true patriotism. We believe now that each race has its inherent excellences and virtues, that every nation has its opportunity and its duty, and that every culture has noble

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elements to contribute to the civilization of the world. This, then, is our thesis: no nation has a right to impose its culture upon any other people on the theory that it is superior. The Germans have no right to impose their culture upon the Poles; the English have no right to impose their culture upon the Hindus; the Japanese have no right to impose their culture upon the Chinese; and the Russians have no right to impose theirs upon the other Slavs. Every people has the right, because of this difference in talent and opportunity, to develop its own culture in its own way, in accordance with the conditions of its own environment. This is the Christian doctrine, this is the scientific doctrine, and we must defend it to the last if we would have liberty and peace in this world.

As this is the heart of our subject, let us consider a little more carefully the grounds of this contention that each race has the right to develop its own culture. In the first place, we affirm that no such wide and permanent superiority of any race exists, and that, even if it did exist, that race would not be justified in imposing its culture on others against their will. History teaches us that every assumption

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of superiority of one race or nation over all others is purely subjective; nobody believes it, except the people who affirm it for themselves. Every such assumption of a single race or people is at once challenged by every other. Each people is naturally proud of its national achievements. The Chinese, Japanese, as well as English, Russians, French, Italians, Germans, and even the Turks, all boast of their superior culture. If one culture is the best, who shall decide which one? Will these philosophers dare say that the merits of intellectual and spiritual culture should be decided by a contest of brute force? That is practically what the German says.

Shall we judge a people by their attainments in science, by their works in painting and music, or by their morals and their religion? No nation in the history of the world has ever been found to be superior to all other nations in all of these respects. The fact is, as a result of natural law, we generally find that where one nation is superior in one of these respects, it is inferior in another. As the result of the universal law of differentiation in nature, races of men differ in talent, and the same races develop different abilities under different con-

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ditions. Nature intends that each shall differ from the other, so that one people will be superior in one way and another people in some other way. Count Von Buelow himself said that the German is, as the result of his nature, inferior in political ability to the Englishman. If, then, we make political ability the criterion, as we might well do, in deciding which nation should govern the world, then, according to Von Buelow, the Anglo-Saxon should rule us all. Believing that our Anglo-Saxon fathers gave the world in the American constitution the best program for self-government mankind has yet seen, we might be tempted to join in this conclusion.

But even if the superiority of one nation over all others could be proved, as it cannot be, this does not justify that nation in attempting to impose its culture by power of arms on another people. Because the German is superior to the Pole, he is not justified in depriving the Pole of his land, his language, and his liberty. History shows that in conquering the Czech, the Austrian does not and cannot improve him, but by this very act debases himself below the level of the Czech. The experience of Austria since she conquered

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the Czech, the Pole, and the dozen or more other races she has attempted to govern, is complete proof of what we here assert—that superior culture cannot be imparted by physical force. Her deterioration as a nation now approaching its dissolution is directly traceable to a wicked imperialistic policy based upon this false conception of patriotism and of nationality. Does Germany want to run the same career? If she does, hers will surely be the same end.

It is evident, therefore, that the principle of nationality must be justified on other grounds than the “will-to-power” of the people supposed to have the superior culture. We believe in the principle of nationality properly limited, but the ultimate reason for the existence of individual nations lies not in the superiority of any one nation. We believe in the principle of nationality not because any one nation has all the virtues, for this is never true; we believe in nationality for the very opposite reason; that is, because every nation has its peculiar virtues which deserve to be cultivated. The Creator made this a world of diversity. Diversity is the universal law of nature, and integration and differentiation are

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the most important processes of evolution. There is diversity of nationality for the same reason that there is diversity of individuality and personality. Just as we have many lands with different geographic features, one made up of mountains, and another of plains, one pastoral and artistic, another agricultural and scientific, so we have many peoples with different characteristics. As no land can produce all the fruits of the earth, so no single nation can produce all the fruits of culture. This law applies to the political world just as it does to the moral. God has made us different men, with diverse languages, manners, customs, and arts, in order that each might fill a place and do a peculiar work in the world. For each should react upon all others, and so make all nobler and better. Each nation, therefore, has its own right in its own place. Each, by virtue of its position and intellectual powers, its agricultural, industrial, and social activities, has developed a culture of its own, limited, no doubt, and necessarily imperfect, but its own. For this very reason, because of these limitations and imperfections, and in order to do a diverse work for a complex humanity, as many nations as possible should

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be allowed to retain and develop their individuality and personality. We believe in nationalities, then, not in order that all nations shall be of one culture, not in order that there may be one great empire, but for the very opposite reason, that there may be many nations with many cultures, each complementary to the other.

True patriotism is the very opposite of this evil jingoism of the Germans. The ideal nationality is born not of pride, but of humility. Nationality is not based on the superiority of any one people, but upon the limitations common to all humanity. Nationality does not justify the supremacy of the strong. On the contrary, it imposes and presupposes a scrupulous regard for the equal rights of the weak, who may be as superior in moral culture as they are inferior in military power. The nation, like the individual, is entitled to influence only by virtue of its goodness, not by virtue of its might, not by its "will-to-power," but by its will-to-service.

This selfish theory of nationality is thus fundamentally wrong. Man does not exist for the nation, but the nation exists for the man. Nationality is a means and condition

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of human advance, but it is humanity which is the end; and not merely one part of humanity, but all humanity. "Above the nations is humanity."

V

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WHAT will the world be now the war is over? Will the result be worth the stupendous price we have paid? Will all be waste and chaos, or will it be an ordered world fit to live in? Materially and physically speaking, the world is seriously affected. Vast desolation exists in many places. But what of the moral and the spiritual condition of the world? What about liberty, democracy, humanity, and righteousness? What will the war bring us of these? In short, what will be the characteristics of the moral and spiritual world.

In the May, 1918, number of the Atlantic Monthly there was a remarkable article entitled "The New Death," in which the writer analyzed the idea of death as it appeared in the letters and lives of the young heroes who had been facing it for four years in France. The old death, which we have tried to shun all our days and to conceal when it came, is revealed by these latest prophets, says this

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writer, as "a mere portal of an eternal progression," and the immediate result should be "the consecration of all living." "As we step into the future, we test our ground for its spiritual foundation. If our faith is to lead us where our dead boys have gone, it must be a faith built like theirs, on spiritual values. This is the lesson that the supreme splendor of youth has taught to a moribund world. To construct a new world on the faith that their word and their sacrifice attest is the sole expression permitted to our mourning; it is the sole monument beautiful enough to be their memorial."

The "new death" which our writer discusses so eloquently is thus the opening of a new life for the world. Through death the world comes once again to its resurrection; into a life richer, more abundant, and more perfect—a life eternal. The real teaching of these prophets of the trenches is therefore not of a "new death," but of a "new life."

Let us consider some characteristics of the new life of the world that is to come out of death. Let us think not of death, but of life—of the new life for America, the new life for you, its heirs, the new life for the afflicted

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peoples of Belgium, of France—of that new life for all the world, for which we are willing to give our lives.

In the first place, what will be the character of the new world politically? What of the new state that is to be? It is evident that “the Lord hath a controversy with the nations” to-day. What is the meaning of this tremendous controversy?

Let us begin with confession. The war marked the failure of our old civilization, for that old civilization brought forth a calamity that threatened to engulf the whole world with the black night of barbarism. For the moment chaos, brutality, and unreason reigned supreme. To prevent this calamity from ever occurring again there must be a new political order, a new world state.

What shall this new state be? We, of America, believe it will be a democracy, made up of equal members cooperating for mutual benefit. The old state, which at first was the community organized for the purpose of securing law and order—a mere policeman—has in these modern times become the guardian of all our economic, political, and social interests as well as of our lives and property. The

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result has been an increasing centralization of power in the state, and a subordination of the interests of the individual to the welfare of the group. Out of this has grown the big illusion of the day—the German conception that the state has a sacrosanct character before which the individual must bow in abject humility. A learned German scholar, long a resident but never a citizen of this country, comparing the German theory of government with ours, said, "For the German the state is not for the individual, but the individuals are for the state." "And," he adds, significantly, "the very scope of the German idea can afford no other sphere than the world itself."

This is the theory of the state that we fought, the theory that would make the individual a mere cog in a machine more remorseless and more insatiate than all the inhuman Tamerlanes of history. This is the reason why we said that if Germany won, freedom would perish. As for us, then, we declare "we must be free or die who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spoke and hold the faith that Milton held." Our mission as Americans, as defenders of individual liberty, is to bring a moral realism into the state. The citizen is

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not for the state, but the state is for the citizen.

This does not mean that the state is not necessary or that it does not possess authority. The state is necessary and it must have authority. It is necessary because no society can cohere without organization, and it must have authority in order to do its work. The state possesses, however, no authority except that willingly conceded to it and vested in it by those who constitute it. It is, as our great Declaration says, a "government by the consent of the governed."

The authority of the state is further limited by the universal moral order. There is a single universal moral order in this world. It is one and the same order for all men everywhere. The crime of Germany is that she professes to believe that the state is a law unto itself, that it can do no wrong. The result of this doctrine is to shatter the moral universe and introduce a pluralism of moral orders, which leads to desperate and permanent chaos.

History is, first and last, a record of the operations of the law of moral sequences. The one sure thing in this world is the principle of moral continuity which links up the sowing

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of evil with the harvest of tragedy. "What a man sows, that shall he also reap," is just as true of nations as it is of individuals. The chief sin of the times is that we do not apply the moral code among nations as we sometimes do among men. As Lord Morley has said: "Not only is truth made a subordinate department of daily politics, but there is something in the atmosphere of traditional statecraft which paralyzes the moral sense. The terms alter, but the issue is constant—force against right, reasons of state against principles of ethics; policy against justice and truth; serpent against dove, fox against lamb; narrow and local expediency against the broad and the eternal."

Now we see how Germany has carried these abominable principles to their logical, their cruel conclusion. The Ten Commandments do not apply between Germans and outsiders. General Von der Goltz, for example, formulated and promulgated Ten Iron Commandments for his German soldiers. "Grow hard, warriors," reads his new Iron Commandment. "The soldier must be hard. It is better to let a hundred women and children belonging to the enemy die than to let a single German soldier suffer."

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In modern Prussia the Beatitudes have become a derision, the Sermon on the Mount a laughing-stock. Such is the result of this hideous theory that the state can do no wrong.

Now we believe that a new type of state will be established in the new world which our boys conquered for us, and the foundations on which this state will be built will be not might, but right; they will be not authority and efficiency, but good will and justice. We cannot have peace in the world anywhere without good will, and good will cannot long continue without justice, and justice cannot prevail unless there is righteousness among the nations as well as among their individual members.

Yet all history shows that individuals, classes, and nations have been under the constant illusion that they could get good for themselves through despoiling or exploiting other individuals, classes, or nations; that they can get something from others for which they do not give or seek to give an equivalent return. From this illusion has also sprung the devilish belief that wrong should be repaid by wrong, that we may remedy evil by returning evil. That is the doctrine of hell.

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This line of thought brings us to the very heart of the social problem—the problem of the relations of men and groups of men to one another. The true formula on which to organize all human relations is the formula of service. Only as the ideal of mutual service, of full reciprocity in conferring mutual benefits, is realized by men in their living together, is there a chance for stable and harmonious and worthwhile human living.

The only cure for injustice is righteousness. “The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance forever.” If, therefore, we would save the nations from eternal wars and destruction, we must “look for a new world in which dwelleth righteousness.” Such a world our boys have conquered for us.

But war alone cannot end war. Might does not rule the real world, the world of souls; mankind must finally be governed by the moral law. No mere military defeat of autocracy can purge the nations of greed of power, of the lust of conquest, of the pride of mastery. We must, indeed, destroy autocracy; and we must do justice to its victims, including its own oppressed at home. But we must do

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more than this: the will to power, which was the cause of this war, must be replaced by the will to love.

If this be a moral universe, as we believe it to be, then the Europe which conducted its affairs on the basis of lying, intrigue, and spoliation could not possibly have escaped the hell into which it was plunged. It might, by increasing armaments, have safe-guarded itself temporarily against the results of its wickedness, but its mad struggle in the vicious circle of repeated intrigue and chicanery and of growing mutual menace, was doomed from the beginning to bring on a terrible catastrophe.

These tremendous tragedies of history are thus the self-vindication of the moral order against those who deny it, in the conduct of the affairs of the nations. The most awful thing about it is that the moral stupor of the statesmen plunges whole multitudes of innocent people into death and destruction. The statesmen arrange the game, fix the prizes, and order the feast that is to follow, but the people pay the price of it all with their blood and their lives.

At such a time as this we must try to think clearly and speak plainly. The curse of the

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old statecraft was its atheism, its denial of God. This atheistic statesmanship has again and again plunged the world into misery and destruction. From Babylon to Berlin the development of the race was interrupted constantly by catastrophes which were the direct result of this atavistic faith in fraud and force. It is the atheism which ignores this overruling power for righteousness, that leaves the moral order out of its reckoning and thinks it can escape the consequences of evil doing by a combination of clever statesmanship and of military power. It is this atheism which turned all Europe into an intolerable inferno.

I affirm, therefore, that our whole argument falls to the ground if there be no God. If there is no God, there is no universal moral order. In a world without a God and without a moral order the only law that pays is the law of the jungle. The Germans are right: the only statesmanship for a world in which there is no God of righteousness is this combination of craft and force, of treaty-breaking and military conquest, which we saw so dreadfully illustrated in their course in bringing on and in carrying on their hellish war.

But our reading of history teaches us that

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there is a God of righteousness, there is a moral order that governs nations as well as men. This is the teaching not only of past history but also of present history. It is the teaching of the events that are happening in this very war. Abominable and frightful as are most of the occurrences of this war, there are some phases of it which ought to give us much encouragement. It is true that we saw on the one side Germany and her allies carrying out their hideous doctrine that the end justifies the means, that treaties are only "scraps of paper," that might makes right, that necessity knows no law, that the earth rightfully belongs to the nation that has power to take it, that terrorism is a fine military measure, and the murder of innocent women and children legitimate warfare. But on the other side we saw a splendid array of nations, including almost all the other peoples of the earth, united in the defense of liberty, of the rights of individuals, races and peoples to determine their own destiny, of the integrity of a moral law between both men and nations and of the principles of righteousness and humanity. It is our joy that America was one of these nations. This is the glorious sign of the times: that

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there are nations who believe that God is still in his heavens and still holds the balances between the nations.

The difference, then, between this war and the ancient wars is that the last struggle was not merely a conflict of arms; it was also and in a larger sense a conflict of ideals. On the fields of France right grappled with might, justice with injustice, truth with treachery. We believe that a new day has dawned upon this old world because we saw so many nations fighting for righteousness and justice, liberty and humanity.

We believe that the new world is here, moreover, because we see throughout the whole world of humanity to-day a vast new mobilization going on—Germany made a mobilization of military power; we see a mobilization of moral power. The events of the last four years have blasted the old materialistic philosophy. Racial barriers are being eliminated. Class spirit is giving way to the spirit of democracy. A new understanding of brotherhood is dawning upon our consciousness and a deepened respect for the rights of men is being incorporated into our laws as well as into our creeds.

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Therefore, though victory for a time attended the banners of the adversary, and the thrones of the wicked seemed as solid as the everlasting hills, "nevertheless, we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

Another most encouraging sign of the times is the character of the leadership developed in the nations fighting for humanity. The old-time statesmanship was a statesmanship of pure intellectuality, of little more than cunning. But true statesmanship is not altogether an affair of the mind. Mentality has its limitations; an intellectual colossus may be a spiritual dwarf. Cunning is no substitute for justice. The soul has a right to a hearing. We may crucify the soul, but we cannot destroy it. We may ignore the conscience, but its voice will not be stilled. We may scorn the laws of the Almighty and make laws for ourselves, but the laws of God will continue to operate. High mentality coupled with low spirituality makes the most dangerous combination conceivable. We have witnessed the disastrous results of such a combination. We may look, in fact, upon that contest as a struggle between the spiritual statesmanship that enthrones God in

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the hearts of men and an intellectual statesmanship that makes power its god. The philosophy of life, however, that ignores conscience, honor, and the fundamental virtues is doomed to defeat. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is just as true of leadership as of anything else. A leadership born of barbarism, that violates every principle of honor, wrecks the fortunes and happiness of countless thousands, that teaches men to worship at the shrine of militarism—a leadership that maims and kills and tortures, that thinks only in terms of Zeppelins and submarines—this leadership belongs in hell.

But a new order of statesmanship has come into existence—a statesmanship that links morality with intellectuality, that demands nobility of soul as well as nobility of mind. This new statesmanship, this spiritual statesmanship, is destined to play an ever-increasing role in the affairs of nations. To this leadership you will belong.

And what shall America be in this new world of righteousness? What will the new America do to incorporate these principles of righteousness and brotherhood into her life? Our service of humanity must begin at home.

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All our millions for the Red Cross and the Red Triangle, all our billions spent for munitions—yes, all the thousands of precious lives given for the salvation of others—will be for naught if we do not learn through this war to deal justly with our own people here at home. While fighting for liberty for others, we shall not fail to win a larger liberty for ourselves.

This, then, is the lesson which these times bring us. This war has taught us that we have souls, created in the spiritual image of the Almighty, souls with immeasurable resources waiting to be developed, and that their development is the cardinal object of our existence. Just now, however, we have a more immediate task to perform; we must first make this world a safe and decent place to live in, a place in which the souls of men can find their true development.

As we neared the end this war became chiefly our war. Belgium, France, Britain, and our other allies saved civilization for us. But the sword passed to America. Ours was the duty, the privilege, the honor, to take up the flag of freedom and carry it on to victory!

Our task has been to put an end forever

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to Prussianism. By fraud and force Prussia sought to conquer the world; if not by this war, then, as General Von Freytag of their General Staff has written in his book, by another war soon to follow. To have listened to proposals for a Prussian peace, to have compromised with this butcher of men and nations and let him have all the spoils of his crimes to fatten on, would have been as infamous as it would have been foolish. That war for democracy had to be fought to a successful finish, or we would have robbed our children of their heritage of liberty and would have left them to fight a still more hellish war later. The contest was merely the continuation of the struggle for liberty begun by the fathers in '76 and carried on through all our wars since. As our fathers gave liberty to America, so it was our duty to give liberty to the world. It is, then, the spirit of America that fills us; in us the spirit of America conquers again. The spirit of America will bring in that "new world wherein dwelleth righteousness."

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Dabney, Charles William, 1855-1945
Fighting for a new world. New York
Abingdon Press [c1919]
108p. 19cm.

1. European War, 1914-1918--Addresses,
essays, lectures. I. Title.

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